

THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Colonial Coin Collectors Club

New Jersey Maris 48-X (High R-7)



Summer, 1997

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The C4 Newsletter Volume 5 Number 2
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Ads for this newsletter can be purchased as follows:

	1 issue	2 issues	3 issues	Copy size
1 page	\$50	\$75	\$125	4-1/2"x 7-1/2"
½ page	30	45	75	4-1/2"x 3-3/4"

If you want to include a photo with your ad at an additional \$10. Black and white photo needed, size can be adjusted to fit. Please send check with your ad. We can accept camera ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

All members also have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 13 lines.



Front Cover: NJ Maris 48-X, photo courtesy of John Lorenzo. According to John, this is the second finest of 4-5 known, making it a high R-7.



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Editor’s Notes

by Angel Pietri

With this issue of the newsletter, closely on the heels of the last one, we will have finally caught up and be back on our quarterly schedule. Hopefully, you will find this issue interesting and stimulating as well as entertaining.

The response to the dues notice has been encouraging, with about two thirds of the members having already renewed their membership. For those of you who forgot, let me remind you to send your dues to me. Those who have not renewed by convention time will be dropped from the mailing list. We do not want to do this!

In my other role as treasurer, I can report that the club is in pretty good shape financially thanks to the cooperation of all of you.

I will not take up any more of your time except to remind you that we want to hear from you and your thoughts and/or recommendations. Now I will let you go on and enjoy this issue.



Colonial copper riddle: What do you get if you cross a NJ 56-n with a NJ 16-L? Answer in page 36.



Message from the Third President

by Dennis Wierzba

Once again, C4 sponsored the colonial happening at EAC held in Las Vegas in April. A number of choice items were on display for all to enjoy. With Boston the site for both C4 and EAC (in 1998), I am looking forward to a strong turnout of members and material for these shows.

As part of our continuing support of education, C4 will publish Tony Carlotto's book on Vermont state coinage. I would like to thank Jim Rosen for his efforts in arranging for the publishing and, of course, to Tony for producing this much needed reference. If all goes well, the book will be available at the C4 Convention in Boston. Details will be available in future newsletters. This effort by C4 has inspired other potential authors to seek C4 sponsorship. The club will seriously consider any proposal that furthers colonial education, subject to available funds.

Plan to be at our convention in Boston in November. Thanks to Jim Rosen, we have put together a fine educational program for Friday night and Saturday. I am still looking for someone to be responsible for exhibits. Likewise, M+G is looking for volunteers to help with lot viewing. I will coordinate this on their behalf. Refer any convention questions to Region 1 Regional rep. Jim Skalbe

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The November C4 auction still needs consignments. Please consider consigning at least two or three high value colonials to this sale. I have and I would hope many of our members would, too. The Club still has quite a few hardbound Scott Barnes catalogs for sale along with convention medals. See the newsletter for these ads.



C4 Convention Items for Sale

Silver Second Convention Medals \$20

Copper Second Convention Medals \$5

Hardbound Scott Barnes Catalogs \$50

Add \$1 postage and handling for Medals and \$3 for catalogues. All will be sent uninsured at buyer's risk. If you want insurance, add an appropriate amount. Twelve copies of the hardbound catalogues were ordered at the convention. Please forward your check to me, payable to C4, at the address below.

The Richard Picker Collection Lot Envelopes

As mentioned in the last issue of this newsletter, Stack's has provided C4 with Picker's own customized envelopes from his collection sold in October, 1984. They are available from the club for \$5 each if you can show adequate proof that you own the coin. This \$5 donation is for the club's treasury, thanks to Stack's. All unsold envelopes will be returned to Stack's. If you own any of these coins and would like to own the envelope, contact me at the address below.

Dennis Wierzbza

Book For Sale

John Hull: Builder of the Bay Colony

by: Hermann Frederick Clarke, A.B.

1993 Reprint of the 1940 original
by A.W. Pollock & Co.
Wolfeboro, New Hampshire

This book is an excellent reference about the first coin maker of the colonies. Its pages offer information not only of numismatic relevance, but also of historical importance. Its 20 chapters discuss the history of John Hull as it ties in to the history of the Massachusetts colony, and covers societal aspects, religious customs and rivalries, Indian affairs, and relations with the Crown. A "must have" for any serious collector of Massachusetts coinage, or anyone with interest in the history of the colonial period.

Available to C4 courtesy of Larry and Harvey Stack

Price: \$10.00 + 2.50 for mailing (insured Special 4th class)

To purchase a copy, please send a check for \$12.50 payable to C4 and mail to:

Angel Pietri

ONLY SIX (6) COPIES LEFT



**Reminder: If you forgot to send in your 1997 dues,
please do so now!**

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Third Annual C-4 Convention

C-4 goes to Boston: November 6-9, 1997 !!!

by Jim Skalbe

Our club will be holding its third annual show in conjunction with the 33rd year semi-annual Bay State Coin Show. Bay State will provide a complimentary table for C-4 to distribute literature and sign up new members. Also two complimentary tables will be provided for the auction house along with a room to hold the auction on Saturday 6pm to 1 am. A room will be provided for C-4 meetings on Friday 5pm to 11pm and Saturday 9am to 1:45 p.m., also complimentary. Bay State will provide a floor plan to all collectors attending the show that will outline all C-4 exhibitor tables in color. All exhibitor tables will be in same room (unless otherwise requested by individual C-4 exhibitors).

Hours of show:

Dealers: Thursday 4:30 PM to 8:30 PM; Friday 10 AM to 7 PM;
Sat. 10 AM to 7 PM; Sunday 10 AM to 4 PM.

Public: Thursday: None; Friday/Saturday 10:30 AM-7 PM; Sunday
10:30 AM-4 PM

Bourse Space: 4 ft. table \$195; 6 ft. table \$295; 8 ft. table \$345;
showcase rent:\$10; lamp rent: \$5

Show location: Radisson Hotel ... recently totally remodeled. Old
name was "57" Park Plaza Ho Jo.

Address: 200 Stuart St., Boston, Ma 02116 (6th fl)

Phone no.: 617-482-1800

Special show room rates: \$100 single, double \$110.(Lower rate
hotels are available within 25 minute ride of show).

There will be about 20 bourse spaces set aside at Bay State for C-4
dealers. Contact Ed Aleo early for details or write

to Box 400, Winchester, Ma 01890.



Call for Auction consignments

We need your consignments for our upcoming auction to be held at the Third Annual C4 Convention in Boston. The auction will again be held by McCawley and Grellman, who have done a wonderful job for us in our two previous sales. If you are thinking about selling all or part of your collection, the C4 convention is a wonderful opportunity to do so. Commissions are very competitive regardless of your consignment size. And you will see your coins auctioned off before a full crowd of colonial enthusiasts, not just the small number who usually attend other colonial auctions. In addition, your consignments benefit the C4 treasury. You can confer with previous major consignors, who can vouch for the success they enjoyed selling in our previous auctions.

If you are interested in consigning, contact either of the following for details:

Bob Grellman
Chris McCawley
Tom Rinaldo

Help C4 make it three major successes in a row!



Letters to the Editor

Some Additional Comments on the Article: The 1787 Immunis Columbia: A Late Rahway/Elizabethtown Product?

As a follow-up to the Lorenzo/Moore article, I would like to add my comments:

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1. In the Richard Picker sale (Stack's- 10/84) lot 190 is a NJ 17-b. It weighs 178.7 grains (but the envelope says 175.75 gr.) and is on a small, thick planchet which may be an *Immunis Columbia*! Checking the original Picker envelope, the pedigree (ex-Ellsworth) is in ink. A pencil comment (over *Immunis*?) was added later. Perhaps the weight and small, thick planchet suggested an *Immunis Columbia* or was there a sign of an undertype? Only the owner can solve this mystery when he comes to claim the envelope.
2. The *Immunis Columbia* in the Ten Eyck sale is plated, shows "OVA", measures 30.5 mm and is XF. It was graded very good in Parmelee! The cataloging of lot 1143 in Stack's 9/93 sale contains a minor error--the Ten Eyck coin is Parmelee lot 596, not lot 595 which is the Crosby plate coin (Norweb:2680). Note that the 3 or 4 NJ 26-S undertypes were not just random pocket change, but likely a direct or indirect group purchase from some NJ mint.
3. From measurements of photos, the obverse and reverse dies are about 28mm as cut. Clearly the die engraver was not expecting 26.1-26.9 mm planchet sizes after striking. In addition, the die sinker was likely responsible for NJ 3 obverse (but date punches do not match) and the Crosby unlisted piece Roper: 213. If this is an Elizabethtown product, the dies were likely cut elsewhere.
4. Although just circumstantial, the 17 of the *Immunis* is very similar to the 17 of the 26-S. The 178 of the *Immunis* is very similar to the 178 of the 28-S. Photo overlays are needed to check the naked eye comparisons which are often faulty.
5. According to the first person report in Crosby, there was no equipment to make planchets at Elizabethtown. Thus planchets were other colonial coins or outside sourced virgin planchets such as the small, heavy planchets used on some late state 17-b's. As previously noted by Michael Hodder, a better classification of 17-b's would be overstruck (whether visible or not) for which weight and planchet size is determined by the undertype and the late state small, heavy planchets, i.e., just two types.

6. More statistical work (larger sample size) is needed on both the Immunis Columbia and the small, heavy 17-b's. The difference in the mean weights is too large to be completely convincing. Doing a catalog search of small flan Immunis Columbia's, I found 28 different specimens with a mean weight of 157.3 and a median weight of 159.7. Note the Immunis average weight is close to the Fugio standard of 157.5. I found 52 Immunis specimens, 24 without weights, in a quick catalog search. I would now estimate the rarity a low R5 or maybe a R4+.

7. For those researching the George Clinton overstrikes, see Robison:154 and Ten Eyck:817 (Garrett:603). The average weight of 6 distinct specimens is 159.4 grains (including the 2 overstrikes), very close to the Immunis Columbia. It could be that there are more overstrikes or the same planchets or chance weight comparisons.

8. To close the circle, Breen's encyclopedia illustrates on p.86 a NJ 56-n overstruck on a George Clinton copper (Boyd estate).

Dennis Wierzba



The Efficient Market for Some Well Traveled New Jersey Colonials

by Roger S. Siboni

Throughout my years in college and business I had always heard people theorize about efficient markets but I never had the opportunity to see one work on a practical level until my recent experience with some well-traveled New Jersey Colonials. My experience started with the Bowers & Merena's Sebring auction catalogue which was distributed in November 1995. Being an avid New Jersey Colonial Copper collector, I scanned the catalogue for

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new acquisition opportunities. As it turned out, Mr. Sebring was a Colonial enthusiast and in fact had about six New Jersey Colonials. Three of these Colonials looked like they would make excellent additions to my portfolio. They were a Maris 17-K, a 18-M and a 48-g. Since I was not going to be able to physically attend the Baltimore show, I asked for the coins to be shipped to me for examination and began to make arrangements with an agent to represent me. All three coins were outstanding. The Maris 17-K turned out to be the finest known to be auctioned and was from the Garrett and either Ellsworth or Dr. Maris collections. With great enthusiasm, I shipped all three coins via Express Mail back to Bowers & Merena and finalized arrangements with my agent to represent me at the auction. Two weeks later I received a call from Bowers & Merena inquiring where the coins were. As it turns out, while they safely left San Francisco (my former home), they never arrived in Wolfeboro. Several bidders including me were quite disappointed when the three lots were withdrawn from the auction. Fortunately, I retained all my mailing documentation and appropriate reports and claims were made with the postal inspector and the insurance company.

Six months latter, right before the ANA Mid Year Denver Convention. I made calls to all the Colonial dealers I regularly work with to see what inventory they might have before the show as, again, I could not make it due to business commitments. One Eastern dealer advised me he had just purchased a NJ Colonial Maris 18-M variety that might fit into my collection. As I missed my chance at the Sebring auction, I asked him to mail it on to me on approval. When I received the coin, it was attractive but also vaguely familiar. As I pondered the coin, I decided to look back at the Sebring catalogue. After comparing die cracks and weight, I became convinced that this was one of the missing Sebring coins. I called the dealer that sent the copper to me on approval and after comparing notes on the Sebring catalogue, we were both convinced it was the same coin. Particularly, since the same vest pocket dealer that had sold him the Maris 18-M just sold him a Maris 17-K with promises of a 48-g.

After calling Bowers & Merena and the postal inspector, the investigation began. The investigation went from the vest pocket dealer to a pawn shop to an airport baggage handler. As it turns out, while registered mail is handled and signed for every step of the way by postal employees, express mail uses common air carriers and contract baggage handlers. A baggage handler randomly selected this B&M package at Boston's Logan airport (en route to Wolfeboro) on the basis that it was small and valuable. Not really knowing what he had or how to dispose of it, the baggage handler was hardly rewarded for his efforts by the pawn shop. From the East Coast pawn shop, the coins soon began to find their way to true market levels.

Of course what amazed me was how quickly and efficiently these particular coins, albeit in a narrow area like Colonials, could find their way all the way back to me in California. Unfortunately, I could not keep the coins. They were returned to the Eastern Dealer who, in turn, had to wait for the postal authorities to make their claim. In somewhat of a departure from the organization that does not let rain, snow or dead of night prevent them from carrying out their duty, they did not make their claim for six months. However, once made, they asked the insurance company to reimburse them for their \$500 of payment to B&M immediately (this took 3 days). The insurance company acquired the coins and returned them to B&M for their original settlement. FINALLY, after having almost owned the coins twice, I was rewarded for my honesty and diligence the third time. I was given the first chance at these well traveled New Jersey Colonials and they are at last in my collection.

So who says nice Colonials are getting tougher and tougher to come by?



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The Montclair, NJ Hoard (1922)

by Dennis Wierzba

In the most recent issue of the ANS publication, American Journal of Numismatics 7-8, John Kleeberg reconstructs the Beach-Grunthal hoard found in Montclair, NJ. In this hoard, there were a high percentage of Machin Mills counterfeit halfpence plus 15 NJ coppers. In this grouping was a Vlack 14-84A, a counterfeit attributed to North Swansea, Massachusetts. This discovery might suggest a source closer to Montclair, such as Mac' in Mills or New York City for this scarce piece. The hoard also contained two Vlack 24-72C and a 23-87C. This article is a "must" read for Machin Mills collectors.



Who Was John Rucker?

Did He Order the Nova Constellatio Coppers?

By Michael Hodder

Recently, it was proposed that, rather than Gouveneur Morris being the New York merchant who ordered the Nova Constellatio coppers from Birmingham, the merchant who really placed the order was named John Rucker, a partner in the firm of Constable, Rucker & Company. In the new theory, New York merchant William Constable formed a partnership with Robert Morris and Gouveneur Morris in May, 1784. Later in June, one John Rucker of London was added to the company, and the firm changed its name to include his. Rucker is said to have worked for Constable's company as its London agent from 1784 until Rucker's death in 1788. The new theory proposes that the Nova Constellatio coppers were a profit making venture of William Constable's company, in which both Robert and Gouveneur Morris were silent partners, and that Rucker was the man on the spot who placed the order and arranged the business in Birmingham.

It is known that Rucker's chief function in the Constable, Rucker &

Company was supposed to be purchasing cargoes of English finished goods for export to America, paying with money earned from Robert Morris' monopoly on the sale of tobacco in France. Using letters of credit backed by receipts from the tobacco sales, Rucker would buy English goods like furniture, barrels of nails, etc., arrange for their lading aboard a friendly vessel, and oversee their dispatch to America. When the cargoes arrived in New York, the major active partner, William Constable, would sell them. Proceeds from these sales would go to purchase additional Virginia tobacco, and the cycle would repeat.

John Rucker was in New York City on June 15, 1784. He left for France with his young wife early in September, arriving later that month or early in October, depending on how long his passage was. His first job, presumably, was to introduce himself to Robert Morris' banker in Paris, one Le Couteulx, as the new firm's London agent. Rucker may also have paid a courtesy call in Paris on Le Normand, who acted as Morris' agent with the French government.

After his stopover in Paris, Rucker traveled across the English Channel and then overland to London, where he established himself in suitable quarters and assumed his duties on behalf of the firm. It is probable that he was ready for business in the winter of 1784/5, but exactly when is not known. It might have been as early as November, 1784, or as late as January, 1785 (it could have been later than January, but not much earlier than November). Within a very short time, however, Rucker ran into problems of a personal nature that would undermine the confidence originally placed in him by the firm's silent partner and paramount financial backer, Robert Morris.

John Rucker was an Englishman. His uncle was a staunch monarchist who hated America and the rebels who had overthrown royal control in the colonies. No sooner had Constable and Rucker finally got their business running smoothly, which, according to Constable, was not until the latter months of 1785, than Rucker's uncle forbade him any longer to accept Morris' American bills of credit to pay for English goods. To Rucker's uncle, Morris and his crew were damned rebels. If Rucker persisted, his uncle stated, he

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would disinherit him and leave him penniless. Despite what he must have known would happen to Morris' business, Rucker obliged his uncle, refusing to pay for the goods he was supposed to be buying with drafts from Morris in America. In order to keep even some business going, Robert Morris was forced to send Rucker drafts drawn on Le Couteulx, Morris' Paris banker. Constable, himself, described Rucker's decision as having "...blasted the fairest prospect" for the firm, going on to say that "Mr. Morris is justly offended, and I do not know what will be the result."

After some deliberation, Rucker must have thought better of things, for he defied his uncle's demand late in 1786 and accepted his disinheritance. By 1787, Rucker was back in business, freely accepting American drafts from Morris. John Rucker's personal problems seem to have intervened, again, however, and by July, 1787 he had fled from London, leaving all his unpaid debts behind him. Although Rucker returned in September and resumed his job, the effects of Rucker's behavior on the stability of Constable's company were serious and the firm never managed to regain its footing. Rucker died in June, 1788. Constable felt his behavior had led to his illness and death. Constable's firm changed its name, from Constable, Rucker & Company to simply William Constable & Co., and continued on until 1791, but its initial high hopes were never realized, in some large part due to John Rucker's actions.

According to the recently proposed new theory about the origin of the Nova Constellatio's, Rucker is said to have placed the order for the Nova Constellatio coppers some time in 1785 and shipped them to America in time enough for them to be in circulation late that year. The proponent of this new theory points to the first English newspaper notice of the coinage, dated March 11, 1786, and proposes that the coinage had to have been circulating in America in reasonable quantities by late the preceding year to be noticed in England in the following March.

We have seen, however, that John Rucker only arrived in France late in September or sometime during October, 1784, at the earliest. After some time spent in Paris, Rucker then traveled to London,

where he needed some further time to establish himself in business as Constable, Rucker & Company. About nine months later, Rucker made the personal decision that crashed Constable's hopes for the firm. Rucker's subsequent behavior shows him to have been an unstable person not well suited for the international business role he had assumed.

The new theory about the origin of the Nova Constellatio coppers holds that Charles Bushnell was wrong when he wrote that Gouveneur Morris ordered the coinage from a mint in Birmingham. It may turn out that John Rucker was also hastily chosen as a new candidate for midwife to the Nova Constellatio coppers.

In order to accept Rucker as the agent responsible for the Nova Constellatio coppers, we must believe that John Rucker had enough time over nine months in 1785 to locate a suitable coining firm, travel by coach north to Birmingham, show patterns or designs of a proposed new coinage for America to the firm he had selected there, contract for a coinage to be struck bearing two different dates, write to America to consult with his partners and perhaps obtain their approval of designs and costs, himself receive by mail or stage and subsequently approve sample coins run off to test the dies and types, arrange for hauling the finished coins to the nearest embarkation point, arrange for cargo space in a ship to America, perhaps oversee the packing of the kegs containing the coins and their lading aboard ship, and pay all the bills entailed in the whole business.

Those who would accept him as their candidate must believe that Rucker, an unstable person of little business experience or acumen, could contract for and ship the coinage all during his first nine months in his new business in England, at a time when his own partner stated that their business ventures were not yet running smoothly. And at the critical moment in the business, when, according to the new theory, the coinage was supposed to be ready for shipment to America, Rucker's personal life blew up in his face, causing his firm's business prospects to be, as his partner Constable wrote to William Morris, "blasted".

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If the Nova Constellatio coppers were really made in England, then we need to be more judicious in our interpretation of the surviving evidence for their English origin. Contemporary newspaper accounts are, clearly, unreliable. So, too, are candidates for midwife to the coppers whose names are drawn as if from a hat.



George Washington's Expenses During the Revolutionary War

(As noted in his personal expense ledger, with his comments on depreciation of American currency)

by Angel Pietri

A while back, I was fortunate to obtain a copy of General Washington's Account with the United States, commencing June 1775, and ending June 1783, entered in his own handwriting. It was published in 1857 by John Hutchings of 112 South Second Street, Brooklyn, Long Island. The manuscript has the following note in the front page:

*Treasury Department,
Register's Office, 1st June, 1833*

*General Washington's Account of Expenses during the Revolutionary War, in his own hand writing, is on file in this office :
-the annexed is a fac simile copy of it.*

*(unintelligible signature)
Chief Clerk in the Register's Office*

The first entry in the ledger is for 239 pounds for the purchase of five horses for his journey from Virginia to Cambridge, Massachusetts. His total expenses for the month of June, 1775 were L466,2,10, mostly for supplies including saddles and harnesses, a gun and *accoutrements*, and travel expenses for himself, General Lee and Col. Reed. The last expense entry is for a total of L1064,1,0 which represents a compilation of the expenses incurred by Mrs.

When Recd	Dollars	Value	When Recd	Dollars	Value
Year Month	Remain	by John Laws	Year Month	Remain	by John Laws
1777 Feb	2610	2610	1780 ² Apr	28710	16441
Apr	1000	1000	Apr	2000	180
May	1000	1000	June	3000	220
July	1000	1000	Sept	2000	110
1000	1000	300	Nov	3000	129
Aug	500	500	Dec	3000	114
1000	1000	300	1780 Jan	3000	102
Oct	1000	911	Feb	5000	130
1000	911	273.6	Mar	3000	78
Dec	1000	754	3000	75	22.10
1778 Jan	2000	1970	Apr	3000	75
1000	685	205.10	May	4000	100
Apr	1000	497	4800	520	96
May	2000	868	June	4300	108
June	2000	756	10000	250	75
Aug	2000	574	Aug	5000	125
100	29	8.44	Sept	8000	200
Sept	1000	250	5000	125	37.10
Nov	2000	366	Nov	1000	25
Dec	2000	314	1781 Feb	9264	231
1779 Mar	2000	200	Mar	30000	750
500	50	15	May	20000	500
28710	16441	4989.18-0	60,074	20,395	Am J. Fe.
1783 July 1	By Bal. due G. Washington I carr. to New Acc. July 65				
					6114.44-0.
					6008.4.
					£16311 17.1.
<p>Note, 104,364 of the above Dollars were received after March 1780 - and all the credited to him for many of them did not get off for a hundred - While 27,775 of them are returned with deducts any more from the above acc. G. Washington</p>					

Table 1: Table taken from Washington's Accounts with the United States, page 52, in which he figures the depreciation of the moneys paid to him by Congress between 1777 and 1781.

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Washington in traveling to and from different winter quarters of the Army.

The total expenses reported by Washington is L17663,18,1 which is broken down as follows:

Household expenses	L3387,14,4
Secret Intelligence	1982,10,0
Reconnaissance	1874,08,8
Miscellaneous	9067,04,1
Interest accrued	288,00,0
Travel by Mrs. Washington	1064,01,4

According to Washington's notes, the first entry for money received from the public treasury is dated Oct. 9, 1777 for L3126,7,9. At the end of 1777 he records a balance owed to him of L599,19,11, after which he appends the following note:

This Bal. Arises from the Expenditures of my private purse.- From which (as doth(sic) appear from the dates of the public debits against me) my outfit to take the Command of the Army at Cambridge - The Expences(sic) of the Journey thither - and disbursements for some time afterwards, were bourne(sic). - It is money which I brought to, and accd.(sic) at Philadelphia while there as a Delegate to Congress, in May and June 1775.

As of July, 1783, Washington had been reimbursed by Congress L3126,7,9 in Lawful money (pound sterling), and payments in dollars totaling \$320,142.00. When adjusted for depreciation, these \$320,142 equaled L12565,1,0. In the previous page I have included a table written in by Washington into the journal in which he figures out the amount he really received for the last \$160,074 he received from Congress. He appends the following note at the bottom:

104,364. of the above Dollars were received after March 1780 - and altho(sic) credited at 40 for 1 many of them did not

fetch 1 for a hundd(sic), - While 27,775 of them are returned with.2(sic) deducts.(sic) Anything from the above acc2(sic).

These last \$27,775 apparently proved to be totally worthless. It seems that when it came to paper money during the war, Washington, despite his popularity, did not fare any better than the rest.

Washington makes two other notes near the end of the journal, one in reference to missing informants who went behind enemy lines, and about his entries for Martha's travel expenses. The first one is as follows:

Before these Accs.(sic) are finally closed, justice and propriety call upon me to signify that there are Persons within the British Lines - if they are not dead or removed, which have a claim upon the Public under the strongest assurances of Compensation from me for their Services in conveying me private intelligence, and which when exhibited, I shall think myself in honor bound to pay. -

Why these claims have not made their appearance 'ere this unless from either of the causes above mentioned - is from a disinclination in them to come forth till(sic) the B. force is entirely removed from the United States, I know not - But I have thought it an incumbent duty on me to bring the matter to view that it may be held in remembrance in case such claims should hereafter appear.

As to Martha's expenses, he has the following to say in the last entry in the ledger book:

Altho' I kept mems.(sic) of these Expenditures I did not introduce them into my Public accounts as they occurred - the reason was, it appeared at first view, in the commencement of them, to have the complexion of a private charge - I had my doubts therefore of the propriety of maks.(sic) it - But the peculiar circumstances attending my command, and the embarrassed situation of our Public affairs which obliged me (to the no small

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detriment of my private Interest) to postpone the visit I every year contemplated to make my Family between the close of one Campaign and opening of another - and as this expence(sic) was incidental thereto, and consequens(sic) of my self denial, I have, as of right I think I ought, upon due consideration adjudged the charge as just with respect to the Public as it is convenient with respect to myself; and I make it with less reluctance as I find upon the final adjustment of these accs.(sic) (which have, as will appear, been long unsettled) that I am a considerable loser. - My disbursements falling a good deal short of my receipts, and the money I had upon hand of my own - For besides the sum I carried with me to Cambridge in 1775 (and which exceeded the aforementioned Bal. Of L599,19,11) I received monies(sic) afterwards on private accs.(sic) in 1777 (and since), which, except small sums that I had occasion now and then to apply to private uses, were all expected in the Public service - and thru'(sic) hurry I suppose, and the perplexity of business (for I know not how else to acct. for the deficiency) I have omitted to charge - whilst every debit against me is here credited.

(Signed) George Washington

To paraphrase, Washington seems to be politely, but without hesitation, telling Congress: "Listen guys, I spent eight years on the field dodging bullets, having to spend my own funds, and missing all the comforts all of you enjoyed. So don't give me any grief about bringing over my wife for the winters and charging it to you all." And it worked. Congress did finally approve the expenses. Of course, the fact that Washington had by then acquired the popularity of a demi-god, probably played a big part.

Following I will give a list of some of the entries for specific items which may help to provide an idea about the cost of different items at the time.

- | | |
|---|------|
| • 5 horses for trip to Cambridge | L239 |
| • Riding mare | 48 |
| • To induce a spy to go into Boston prior to the British evacuation | 100 |

(Patriotism did not come cheap)

• To have his residence cleaned	2,10,9
• Musket	3
• Reward for recovering stolen pistol	1,10
• Barber in Cambridge	6,10
• Barber in NY	5,10
• To farmer tending sick horses	7,10
• To relieve the distress of sad wives and children	15
• Secret service expenses, NY 4/77	284
• Secret service expenses, NJ 6/77	135
• Secret service expenses, NJ 8/77	52
• Pay aide to accompany Mrs. Washington from Cambridge to NY	45,6
• Purchase arms from 3 sources 3/76 (amount unspecified)	384
• Cash to Robert Morris (unspecified reason) in specie- (<i>no paper money for Mr. Finance Minister</i>)	124,7,8
• Sundry items June 18-July 31, 1778 for march from Valley Forge to White Plains	46,5,2
• Household expenses 11/21/80-9/81	800
• Household expenses 10/81-11/81	182
• Household expenses 1/83-7/83	444

For many items entered in the ledger, an amount is entered without details as to the period it covered. For example, entries for servant wages range from L1-18,4. For other entries, a name of the recipient is given with only a general description of the service provided. When it comes to secret service, usually no details are given, presumably for security reasons. Entries for amounts given to the paymaster for troop payments are entered in a mixture of dollar and lawful money amounts. In general, as the war progressed, it seems that the entries get sketchier in terms of detail.

Where Washington's expenses excessive? Did he take advantage of his position and fame? If you look at this question in light of today's

customs, maybe. It would seem that L3,387 for household expenses and L1,064 for Martha's travels was unnecessary. This is fully 25% of the expenditures reported. Why couldn't George Washington and his staff sleep in a tent like the rest of the main Army? Why pay for servants and for wives expenses when the situation was so tight economically for the country?

The answer lies, I think, in that George Washington was a "gentleman" of the times. And the word gentleman had a different meaning then than it does now¹. They were living in a society that believed in aristocratic paternalism. Even though the American Revolution marked the beginning of the end for this concept in America, it was still deeply rooted. In this society, a gentleman was a man of means and high ability. His economic position had to allow him to live in leisure without having "to earn his bread by the sweat of his own brows". Even Benjamin Franklin, as prosperous and famous as he was, did not enter the ranks of the "gentlemen" until he was wealthy enough to sell his printing business and free himself from mandatory labor to support himself and his family. A gentleman was expected to live in affluence, entertain his equals with regularity, be well bred and educated, and to never show fear in the face of personal danger. In addition, he had to be particularly attentive to his reputation since it was essential that his "Name" be held in high esteem. These two last traits stood behind the nowadays barbaric concept of dueling. However, this aristocratic paternalism placed public service almost as a moral imperative for a gentleman. And this service was to be performed without direct remuneration (not to say that great economic benefit could not be attained due to influence). They could condescend and be affable to their inferiors, even to the point of being lenient and indulgent, but to never lose sight of the difference between them. This was an extension of the concept which made the King the Father of his subjects. Gentlemen were like fathers to their dependents.

¹ Wood, Gordon: *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1992

Of course, this pattern did not fit all “gentlemen” of the time, but this was the expected pattern of behavior. In light of this then, Washington’s household expenses were not considered excessive, and were approved by Congress. After all, as he himself said above, he had sacrificed enough for the cause, had shown his courage, and had carried his social responsibilities to a much higher level than anyone else among the “Founding Fathers”. And at the end of the War he was in a decidedly less advantageous position economically than before. He was not expected to give up all the graces and privileges of a gentleman by spending 8 years in a tent without ever enjoying the company of his wife. It would have been unthinkable. It was perfectly reasonable for him to assure himself of proper lodgings, and to have adequate services of servants whenever the status of the hostilities allowed for it. As a gentleman doing his duty, he was entitled to it.



Point Counterpoint

The Mott Token: Does It Belong in a Colonial Collection?

The Mott Token has traditionally been included as a colonial era token. However, many people recently have expressed the opinion that it is really a token belonging to the Hard Times era. The Red Book states that “It most likely was produced c. 1839 as a commemorative of the founding of the Mott Company, and probably served as a business card.” In the “Standard Catalogue of United States Tokens: 1700-1900” by Russell Rulau, he states that “...it would be futile to resist the evidence and, thus, we concur” with a 1988 article by Bowers that concluded that the Mott token was produced no earlier than 1838. This conclusion is based, according to Rulau, on the fact that the eagle on the token is very similar to the eagle on the 1838 \$5 and \$10 gold pieces made at the US Mint, and

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the supposed existence of a Mott token overstruck on a 1837-39 large cent.

With this in mind, I posed the question on the token's time of origin to several prominent numismatist. And here I present their comments for your evaluation, together with my two cents worth on the subject. ***If any of you have any evidence or thoughts that could shed any light on the subject, we would appreciate your sharing it with us.***

Q. David Bowers:

Concerning the "1789" Mott token, I have long suspected that this piece is not the "first American store card," as it is sometimes called, but, instead, a coin made in the 19th century-that is, a piece dated significantly later than the 1789 date appearing on the token. With regard to suggesting that this piece may have been struck in the 19th century, rather than in 1789, I realize I am bucking tradition. Contributing to this feeling is the fact that Mott is listed in an 1842 directory in New York City (and other directories as well), and the statement that a specimen is known struck over an 1839 large cent (however, I have not seen this in person). If a Mott token struck over an 1839 cent does exist, as has been said, this would at the very least suggest that certain Mott tokens could not have been struck before that date. It would be interesting and no doubt productive to examine such a piece to determine the die state and other characteristics. Possibly the strongest argument for a 19th century origin is that the eagle on the reverse seems to be a copy of that first used on United States coins in 1807 such as the \$5 gold coin of this year. While it certainly could be the case that a British or early American die sinker found an similar sketch of an eagle in a book of motifs, this seems to be a bit far fetched, especially as the eagle in question appeared on circulating American coinage beginning in 1807, and, apparently, on no coins or medals prior to that date.

I suspect that the 1789 date on the Mott token refers to the founding date of the firm, not the date of issue of the token. I have invited comments about this in several of our catalogues and the like, but no

one has thus far picked up the gauntlet. Not that it is relevant to the 1789 question, but it was common in certain 19th century catalogues to refer to Mott tokens as "original" or "restrike" issues. For example, the description from W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the J.N.T. Levick Collection, May 26-29, 1884, through Messrs. Bangs & Co., 739 and 741 Broadway, New York City, includes the following:

Lot 326: Mott's Token, 1789. A set comprising probably all known varieties, originals, res. (restrikes), thick and thin planchets, engrailed and lettered; all in copper, and some the (the) originals are nearly proof; planchets vary two or three numbers (as measured on the American scale of 1/16ths of an inch) in size. It is not probable that a duplicate set can be produced. 8 pieces. (Realized 40¢ per item, or \$3.20 the lot)

Modern literature does not make this differentiation, although different die states are noted as are different planchet thickness and weights.

It has been suggested to me that placing the Mott token in the 1830s, as part of the Hard Times token series, is in violation of the improved techniques that are said to have been in place by the 1830s, as compared to 1789. One need but to point to such crude issues as the Bucklin, Starbuck, and other issues of the Troy, New York area, in the 1830s and 1840, dramatically prove that, indeed, very crude tokens were being made during those 19th century times.

The "1789" Mott token seems to me to be a piece for which the jury is still out. While it may have been struck in 1789, I wouldn't want to bet my last dollar on it.

Michael Hodder:

Re: the 1789 Mott Tokens. It's become fashionable lately to date these to the mid 19th c., on the strength of the similarity in style of the eagle on the reverse to William Kneass' ca. 1834 eagle design for the federal gold coinage. However, the Mott token's eagle is almost identical to the eagle appearing on 6th Regiment U.S. Infantry

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uniform buttons of the War of 1812. It's also very similar to the eagle on military belt plates of the 1814-1830 period. I don't think anyone can ever be sure of the exact date of the Mott token unless some documentation about them turns up one day. Personally, I think they were made in England like the Talbot, Allum & Lee cents were. The thick vs. thin, plain vs. ornamented edge varieties sound like an English product, to me. I also think they were made very made very close in time to 1789, maybe 1792-95.

Eric P. Newman:

The date of issuance of the Mott token makes wonderful food for thought and ought to stimulate unusual interest and further research. My opinion is that the subject needs much more data than presented in the thoughts expressed by Bowers, Hodder, Vermeule, Bressett, Rulau, Taxay, Anton, and myself. Perhaps there are more thoughts I am unaware of.

Long ago I asked if someone would gather all the business listings of the Mott brothers in New York City directories and advertising. It should also include merchants' organizations, lists and categories. I would like to know whether the Mott overstrikes on the two different U.S. cents and on the two different British merchant's tokens are an early state or broken state of the die, I would like to see what eagle designs there were from before 1789 to 1807 on other than coinage as there is no right to assume Reich developed the eagle position and the Mott designer copied it or vice versa. A clock historian or clock museum should determine whether the depicted shelf clock is circa 1789 or 1839 and whether it is English or French or American style. The token has no reason to be construed as commemorative of 50 years in business if there is no mention of that event in the extensive text on the token. Are the same letter punches used on the tokens found on any British or American striking of other items? We need clear illustrations of all overstrikes and their die states to be sure that the overstrikes and undercoins are not artificial creations.

This enigma can be solved with extensive research. It will not be

solved by opinion based upon present equivocal data. Let's go for it.

John J. Ford, Jr.:

Predicated upon fabric, style and apparent method of manufacture, I would date this issue ca. 1789-93. I agree with L.H. Low that the thicker, convex pieces were struck in similitude to the 1793 chain cents from the US Mint and of heavier weight, while the thin ones were made earlier prior to the copper panic and of weights similar to the average circulating Connecticut copper. I take no stock in the theory that the tokens were struck as an anniversary issue. I found 46 Mott's in Longworth's New York City Merchant Directory for 1839-40. The only ones involved with clocks and watches were J.H. Mott and Jordan, Jr., listed at 8 Broadway. No connection was listed concerning their operation with that of William & John, and Jeremiah in the 1786-1795 period. (The Directory sometimes mentions if a merchant is a successor to a previous merchant). One of the last three was probably responsible for issuing the token. As to the eagle being a copy of Reich's design, I disagree also. In the book "The Great Seals of the United States, or Histories of American Emblems" published in 1892 by B.J. Cigrand, there are multiple eagle designs available at the end of eighteenth century from which this could have been copied or adapted from.

Editor's comments:

Though I favor the arguments for an early origin (maybe equally out of sentimental and logical reasons), I feel that the question is still open. I will try to follow Mr. Newman's advice and do a little more reading on the subject in the future to see if I can establish my beliefs on more solid footing. I promise I will deliver my more formal thoughts then.

Again, we welcome any comments on this matter from the readers.



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Machin's Mills/Atlee Halfpence Rarity Guide

Estimates reported by Ed Sarrafian at the 1996 C4 Convention

1-47A	R-5	14-84-A	R-6
2-71A	R-4	15-85NY	R-6
3-71B	R-5	9-87NY	R-8
4-71C	R-7 +	13-87CT	R-8
4-71D	Unique	17-87A	R-2
5-72A	R-6	17-87B	R-2
6-72A	R-6 +	17-87E	R-7 +
7-72B	R-6 +	18-87C	R-4
24-72C	R-6 + to 7-	19-87C	R-2
3-74A	R-6	20-87C	R-7
7-74A	R-6	21-87C	R-7
8-74A	R-4	21-I-87DI	R-6 +
4-75A	R-4	21-II-87DII	R-4
6-76A	R-4	23-87C	R-7 +
9-76B	R-7	VT-87C	R-1
11-78A	R-3	13-88CT	R-4
12-78A	R-3	22-88VT	R-4
13-78B	R-5	23-88A	R-2

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CNL, Articles authored by Gary Trudgen

Pine Tree October 1975 Sale
Stack's Roper Collection Sale
Bowers & Merena, Taylor Collection Sale



LEGENDS ON AMERICAN COLONIAL COINS

by Mary Sauvain

Over one hundred years ago there was published in the COIN COLLECTOR'S JOURNAL a list of the translations of the mottoes and legends used on early Colonial coins. Though long out of print it is a useful list and is reprinted here. A number of legends and translations have been added to the original.

AMERICA INIMICA TYRANNIS

America, hostile to tyrants. (Confederatio Cents)

AUCTORI CONNEC.

By authority of Connecticut.

AUCTORI PLEBIS

By authority of the people. (General)

BENEDICTVM SIT NOMEN DOMINI

Blessed be the name of the Lord. (French Colonial)

CRESCITE ET MVLTIPPLICAMINI

Increase and multiply. (Lord Baltimore's coinage for Maryland)

DENARIUM TERRAE MARIAE

Maryland Penny.

ECCE GREX

Behold the Flock. (New Jersey)

EXCELSIOR

Higher, more lofty. (New York)

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E PLURIBUS UNUM

One composed of many (or one out of many). (Kentucky, New Jersey and New York)

FLOREAT REX

May the King prosper. (New Jersey)

GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO

I, George, triumph. (General)

*GEORGIUS. DEI GRATIA, MAGNAE BRITANNIAE. FRANCIAE
ET*

HIBERNIAE REX

George, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, of France and of

Ireland. (Rosa Americana Series)

IMMUNE COLUMBIA. IMMUNIS COLUMBIA

Free America. (New Jersey and General)

INDE. ET LIB.

Independence and Liberty. (Vermont and Connecticut)

IN UNITATE FORTITUDO

In Union there is strength. (General)

LIBERTAS JUSTITIA

Liberty through justice. (Nova Constellatio Series)

LIBER NATUS LIBERTATEM DEFENDO

Being born free, I defend Liberty. (Excelsior)

NON DEPENDENS STATUS

Independent of Position. (General)

NOVA CONSTELLATIO

The New Constellation. (The American Colonies United)

NOVA CAESAREA

New Jersey.

NON VI VIRTUTE VICI

I conquered by Virtue, Not by Force. (New York)

NEO EBORACENSIS: NEO EBORACUS: NOVA EBORAC

New York

QUARTA DECIMA STELLA

The Fourteenth Star (Vermont, the 14th state)

QUIESCAT PLEBS

May the People Be Quiet. (New Jersey)

ROSA AMERICANA

The American Rose.

SALVA MAGNA PARENS FRUGUM

Hail, Thou Mighty Mother of Production. ~(Castorland, Carthage, New York)

UTILE DULCI

The Useful with the Pleasant. (Rosa Americana Series)

VERMONTS RES PUBLICA

The Republic of Vermont.

VERMON AUCTORI

By authority of Vermont.

VERMONTENSIVM RES PUBLICA

The Republic of Vermont. (Green Mountains)

VOCE POPULI

By the Voice of the People. (General)

Summer, 1997

VIRT. ET LIB.

Virtue and Liberty. (New York)

LOUIS XIV ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARE

Louis XIV. King of France and Navarre.

COLONIES FRANCOISES

French Colonies

Recopied from the monthly publication "Anchorage Coin Club
Newsletter"

10/02/93



UNCLASSIFIED ADS

Todd Gredesky

For sale: Durst reprints

- | | |
|--|------|
| • Crosby. The Early Coins of America | \$30 |
| • Newman. The 1776 Continental Currency Coinage &
The Varieties of the Fugio Cent | \$5 |
| • Nelson. The Coinage of William Wood | \$5 |
| • Ryder/Slafter. The Colonial Coins of Vermont & The
Vermont Coinage | \$5 |



Dave Cleaves

I am interested in purchasing examples of late 17th and 18th century coins which have been cut in half or into quarters to make "change". This includes U.S. as well as foreign coins which were likely to have

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Better state coppers and Fugios by die variety.

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Dave Wnuck, Coin Rarities of New England
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TOP GRADE SPECIMENS of the following wanted: Silver Mydleton token (with or without box), Getz silver and copper Washington pieces, Nice rarity 7 or 8 Connecticut's, other neat, high grade colonials wanted.

Also need: all early (pre-1835) U.S. Quarter Eagles, Half Eagles, and Eagles - especially rare dates and die varieties

35

Summer, 1997

ADMIRAL VERNON MEDALS WANTED:

Better examples of this generally miserable series wanted for my collection. Call or write with details and asking price.



Angel Pietri

FOR SALE:

Vermont Ryder 17- VF, microscopically granular, dark brown fields with golden brown highlights giving a nice cameo effect- \$750.

Call or write.



Last Minute Reminders

- 1- Notice of C4 meeting at the ANA Convention: The C4 general meeting will be held at 8:00 PM on Friday, August 1 at the Marriot Marquis. If time is available, let's have a single coin show-and-tell of your favorite colonial bargain/ cherrypick after the meeting.
- 2- Mark your calendars and make your reservations for Nov. 6-9 for the Third Annual C4 Convention in Boston.



Answer to the Colonial Copper Riddle: The Joe Camel Head.



Errata: In the previous issue, in the article on the Immunis Columbia by John Lorenzo and Roger Moore, the photo in Figure 3 was mistakenly put in again in Figure 4. We apologize for the error. Following in the next page is the correct Figure 4.



Figure 4: a) obverse and b) reverse photographs of the Maris 17-b variety on a small, thick planchet variety. Very similar metrology properties are seen on the small thick virgin flans of the 1787 Immunis Columbia pictured in figure 2.



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